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ABSTRACT

The investigation described in this paper was concerned with language alternation (code-switching) in the speech of Chicano migrant workers in Florida. In order to study Chicano bilingualsim, three principal sources were utilized: (1) a revised version of Wolck's sociolinguistic background questionnaire; (2) pictorial questionnaires such as Sapon's Pictorial Linguistic Interview Manual and pictures taken from newspapers, magazines, and the Sear's catalogue; and (3) relaxed conversational situations between bilinguals, taped by residents of the migrant camps. The specific purpose of the research was to observe the use of unassimilated loanwords which were phonologically English, but which were used in the Spanish of 33 informants. It was found that the vast majority of informants did not rely on direct English borrowings. If they borrowed any lexical items at all, they tended to assimilate them into their Spanish. They were aware of the linguistic norms of at least one of the two languages and they were sensitive to the separate identity of Spanish and English. Three sample conversations are presented, followed by an analysis of the various causes for the language switching in each. Educators should recognize the differences between Chicanos who switch from Spanish to English because they cannot distinguish the two languages, or from an inability to recall Spanish lexical items, and those who use language switching deliberately in order to convey additional affective meaning. The habit of the latter group should be recognized as an assertion of their dual cultural heritage. (CFM)

Language Switching in Chicano Spanish: Linguistic Norm Awareness

Florence Barkin

The fact that English has influenced Chicano Spanish is not at all surprising. We are indeed amazed that a conquered people since the military defeat of Mexico by the United States have been able to withstand the constant linguistic pressure from the Anglo-American majority who pride themselves on pursuing an English-only policy.

The present investigation addresses itself to the curious phenomenon of language alternation (commonly called code-switching)[1] in the speech of Chicano migrant workers in Florida.[2] According to Christian and Christian (1966:291), the migrant Spanish speaker exemplifies an intensification of the economic and social problems experienced by other Spanish speakers in the United States:

> Generally the least acculturated and the least educated of all the Spanish speakers in the Southwest, they have been imprisoned in this position generation after generation by the circumstances of their work. They have developed a migratory subculture.

Although 1970 Census Bureau statistics indicate a very small number of persons of Mexican origin in Florida, these figures are deceptive due to the difficulty in accumulating accurate data on such a mobile people.[3] There are no statistics specifically geared to the migrant population. Therefore, when the survey is taken in Florida, many residents are not considered permanent while others, temporarily in other states, are left out of the analysis. Unlike many other areas to which Chicanos migrate, Florida is beginning to become their permanent residence, particularly due to the long growing season and promise of work 8 to 10 months a year. Unfortunately, a truly reliable census would be very difficult. Interestingly enough, none of the Chicanos interviewed during this investigation has ever been approached by a census taker!

In pursuit of our goal of studying Chicano bilingualism, we sought information from three principal sources: 1) A revised version of Wölck's Sociolinguistic background questionnaire (1969). 2) Pictorial questionnaires such as Sapon's Pictorial Linguistic Interview Manual (PLIM) (1957) and pictures taken from newspapers, magazines and the Sear's catalogue. 3) Relaxed conversational situations between bilinguals, taped by residents of the migrant camps. We analyzed our linguistic data according to Haugen's three categories of loanwords (1953): unassimilated, partly assimilated and wholly assimilated. The present paper is concerned with unassimilated loanwords.

phonologically English, but used in our 33 informants' Spanish.[4]

In this investigation we hoped to elicit "casual" speech, that is, the type of speech in which ordinary conversations are held and ordinary details of living discussed.

However, we had to be constantly aware of the informants' speech changing at any time from casual to formal. Bloomfield (1933:497) states the problem well:

> . . . the observer who sets out to study a strange language or a local dialect, often gets data from his informants, only to find them using entirely different forms when they speak among themselves. They count these latter forms inferior, and are ashamed to give them to the observer. An observer may thus record a language entirely unrelated to the one he is looking for.

In order to avoid formal discourse, in which informants attempt to polish their speech when dealing with an outside interviewer, Labov (1972) suggests three instances in which casual and relaxed speech often occur: prior to the interview, during interruptions by outsiders, and following an interview. While every effort was made to gain as much information as possible during the interviews, in the present study, much of the observation and recording took place before and after.

Interestingly enough, from the frequency of unadapted English borrowings in our informants' speech, we are able to gain insight into their command of Spanish. We have isolated certain variables to determine why some speakers (Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 17, 21 and 31) have incorporated so many unadapted English forms into their Spanish, when identifying drawings in our pictorial questionnaire while others (Nos. 1, 4, 7-9, 14, 16, 18, and 21-30) have utilized so few.

Of the nine informants whose interviews each yielded more than 20 unaltered English loanwords, eight were born in Texas and one in Florida. None was from Mexico. Moreover, except for Informant 3's mother the informants' parents were <u>also</u> born in this country, making the informants themselves all second generation Americans at the very least. In addition, each of the above informants has been a migrant for several years.

With the exception of Informant 17, each has attended monolingual English rather than Spanish-English bilingual schools. According to their interviews, most of these migrants are more proficient in English on a formal, academic level, though they hardly use English in migrant camps where most of the inhabitants are bilingual and prefer speaking Spanish with their family and friends. Consequently, even though their Spanish is inadequate, they use it as their primary means of communication, relying upon English lexical items for frequent assistance. Thus, due to their vocabulary deficiencies in Spanish, these informants borrowed directly from English when identifying objects in the pictorial questionnaire. We attribute their extensive use of unadapted English words to the following: 1. The questionnaire itself represented an academic exercise calling upon their formal education and thus their knowledge of English; 2. Lack of knowledge of the Spanish equivalent; 3. Greater convenience of an English item (the first word entering the speaker's mind); 4. Speaker's inability to recognize the boundaries between English and Spanish, i.e. lack of awareness of linguistic norms.

Each of the above factors (or a combination of them) called for the use of English words, within a Spanish utterance, in isolation or in chains. English in their Spanish, rather than carrying rhetorical significance, represented an auxiliary tool helping the informants complete the interview in Spanish (or in what they considered to be Spanish).

However, the vast majority of our informants did not rely on direct English borrowings. If they borrowed any lexical items at all, they tended to assimilate them into their Spanish. We have divided these latter informants into three main categories: 1. Mexican emigrants who already spoke Spanish before they learned English (Nos. 18, 21, 24, 25, 29); 2. Bilinguals born in the U.S., some of whom had recently decided to settle in Florida and had participated in bilingual programs either there or in Texas (Nos. 1, 7, 8, 14, 16, 27); 3. Other Bilinguals. Some had studied Spanish as a second language in high school. (Nos. 4, 9, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30).

All speakers included in the above categories had two things in common: 1. They were aware of the linguistic norms of at least one of the two languages, and, 2. They were sensitive to the separate identity of Spanish and English. Consequently, if they used elements of one while speaking, they prefaced their switch by either hesitating, explaining the reasons for it, or by saying something like, "or as you say in English."

The informants in the first category each used fewer than four unassimilated English loans in their Spanish. Since they were born in Mexico, they spoke Spanish before they learned English and went to Spanish-speaking schools. Their heritage was Mexican rather than the dual Mexican-American cultural heritage of some of our other informants. Because of their proficiency in Spanish, and their awareness of the Spanish norms, they did not need English either to fill in gaps in their Spanish or to express affective connotations to their peers.

Bilinguals in the second category were born in the U.S. Since many decided to settle in Florida, they needed English to function in a primarily American community. The fact that they had participated in bilingual programs in school made them extremely sensitive to the norms of both languages. Although they were able to speak either language without demonstrating any influence from the other, when speaking to each other they switched back and forth from Spanish to English. This language-switching was used to communicate certain affective connotations and confidentiality when speaking to those of similar cultural background. Although they frequently switched between Spanish and English in informal situations with their peers, they seldom relied upon English to fill in gaps in their Spanish. Rather than use an English word during their Spanish interview, they preferred to skip on to the next drawing. Informant 1 is a good example of a bilingual in this category. She showed no evidences of English in her Spanish and vice versa. However, when in the company of her Chicano friends and with her siblings, she frequently switched back and forth between Spanish and English. Interestingly enough, when speaking to her own mother she always spoke Spanish even though her mother knew some English. Informant 1 was extremely sensitive to her use of both languages within the same utterance. If a monolingual in either language, or someone unfamiliar to her entered the room while she was using both languages interchangeably, she would automatically revert to fluent use of either of the two languages. Although these shifts did not cause changes in the understanding of the conversational content, they resulted in a more or less natural "feeling." These shifts were not merely mechanical as were the shifts talked about in the above section. Rather they were a rhetorical device carrying meaning.

Alternating between languages often creates a valuable atmosphere for sensitive communications.

Ornstein (1972:83) notes that bilinguals often function more adequately than "an outsider who manipulates the two languages in a 'linear' fashion."

Denison (1971) interprets switching as a skill developed because of sociolinguistic norms of expectation. He claims that participants are able to create social situations by skillful switching of varieties of language within a community. His observation can be extended to include bilingual switching between two languages as well as monolingual between the dialetcs of the same language.

Diebold (1965:141) observed that "a bilingual under emotional stress may revert to the language spoken when comparable emotions have been experienced in the past." Gumperz and Hernández-Ch. (1971) have also found similar results in their study of classroom interaction among Mexican Americans. They observe that ideas and experiences are typically Mexican-American while English serves to introduce most new information. Sometimes Spanish is used to amplify the speaker's intent. Mackey (1966) has expressed the need for more research in the field of emotional stress and its relationship to bilingual switching. Evidently, he, too, has observed certain correlations which have aroused his curiosity.

Joshua Fishman contends that interlocutors may vary in the extent to which they switch languages depending upon their role-relationships to each other. For example, if an individual speaking to his boss interprets the relationship as a strictly formal one, he is less likely to switch than if the boss were his close friend. In the case of Florida informants, particular concern was taken with the character of the role-relationship being developed. The more informal and casual the role relationship, the more often we found language switching. In the same vein, Ferguson (1964) observes that in many languages there is a style specific to the situation of an adult addressing an infant. Brown and Gilman's study of "tu" and "vous" (1960) shows that the selection is based upon the relationship between the sender and receiver. As Ervin-Tripp (1968) indicates, a shift from one language to another among bilinguals can mark the same contrasts as a sociolinguistic variation in monolinguals. Thus, the interlocutors' perception of each other's roles often determines their speech choices.

Switching may be either conscious or unconscious. It often produces an intentionally humorous effect, as Haugen (1953) so aptly points out. He reports that his

American Norwegian informants often make use of orthographic or phonetic similarities between Norwegian and English words to create a humorous result. At other times, the tone of the message alone may determine when and where a switch will occur. Blom and Gumperz (1971) have observed that even when speakers can recognize the social meaning of switching, they may not be able to control it consciously when engaged in bilingual conversations. The role-relationships are predetermined and the necessity to switch is inherent. The very nature of the relationship between the interlocutors and the topic under discussion prevent the speaker from controling his language alternations.

Even though the individual may not be able to control his switching under certain circumstances, we know that the phenomenon of switching itself is never random. It follows certain co-occurrence rules which determine whether a switch can take place in a certain position or at a specific time in a conversation. Co-occurrence rules underline the existence of norms for switching. Therefore metaphorical switching is possible for the purpose of establishing new meanings and insights. Fishman (1972:43) states that:

> Metaphorical switching is a luxury that can be afforded only by those that comfortably share not only the same set of situational norms but also the same view as to their inviolability.

Since most of us are members of several speech communities, switching could be misunderstood if used within a community unaware of its impact. However, Ervin-Tripp (1964) points out that norms of correctness are generated by the members of the stable bilingual communities which largely interact with other bilinguals. According to Pandit (1969:255)[5] "whether it is stylistic variation among the varieties of one language or whether it is language switching across mutually unintelligible varieties, variation is rule-governed behavior."

Gumperz (1966) realized that any encounter between speakers always conveys more than the cognitive content of the message. Although on the surface the choice appears random, people whose speech demonstrates a great deal of interference may be very sensitive in conveying social meanings by language switching. (Gumperz, 1971). As Dell Hymes (1967:9) relates:

> No normal person and no normal community is limited in repertoire to a single variety of code to an unchanging monotony which would preclude

> the possibility of indicating respect, insolence, mock-seriousness, humor, role-distance etc. by switching from one code variety to another.

Switching is more than a merely mechanical process of language alternation. It is a rhetorical device which carries meaning. Kimple, Cooper, and Fishman (1969:134) note that the shifts in the use of the two languages may not cause changes in the comprehension of the conversation's content. However, they contend that the switches may result in the feeling that the conversation has become more or less "natural."

The following material has been extracted from a number of taped, unrehearsed conversations by Chicano informants. These informants were not aware of the presence of the tape recorder. Therefore, we can assume that these conversations are representative of their everyday interactions with each other. Each conversation included in the text is followed by a detailed analysis of its sociolinguistic content.

Conversation 1:

Jorge: Hey, Luis, when you gonna play baseball?

Luis: No sé cuando.

Jorge: ¿Cuándo vas a ir?

Luis: Mañana.

Jorge: I wanna go.

Luis: What you gonna do. ¿Qué vas a hacer, hey?

The topic is baseball, a familiar American sport. Jorge proceeds to ask about it in English since his experiences with the game have been either in school or on television, on the radio or in the newspapers. However, Luis, in interpreting the boys' familiar role-relationship, answers in Spanish. He often used either Spanish, English or a combination of the two when speaking with Jorge or many of his peers. In response to Luis's Spanish statement, Jorge continues in Spanish. Here we see a continuation of the language immediately preceding as well as a change in topic, i.e. Luis's forthcoming vacation. Luis continues in Spanish. Thus far, Luis has not uttered a word in English. Jorge reverts to the language he began speaking, i.e. English. Here Luis responds with his first words in English,

"What you gonna do?" However, he returns to Spanish, repeating his English question, "Qué vas a hacer?" He concludes his comments in English with the interjection, "hey?" Here Luis expresses the close role-relationship with Jorge. Naturally, the use of the Spanish translation adds to the emphasis of the English, "What you gonna do?" The following chart is a schematic representation of the conversation, noting the reasons for each language's use.

Speaker	Language	Reason
Jorge	English	Topic
Luis	Spanish	Role-relationship
Jorge	Spanish	Preceding Language Role-relationship
Luis	Spanish	Preceding Language Role-relationship
Jorge	English	Initiating Language
Luis	English Spanish English	Preceding Language Emphasis Role-relationship

From this example, we can extract various causes for language switching. First, the creation of a certain social situation, which becomes clear through the choice of topic and the close relationship between the two boys. The relaxing atmosphere of the close peer relationship opens the conversation up to three possible language choices: Spanish, English, or a combination of the two. The mixture of the two, in the last comment by Luis, can be considered metaphorical since it establishes a new feeling and conveys a new social meaning beyond the words themselves. We perceive mild sarcasm at the unfortunate situation that Jorge will be unable to accompany Luis tomorrow. Here the tone of the message alone determines when the switch will occur. Thus the rhetorical device of switching does not cause a change in the conversation's content, but rather conveys a new connotation. Here it is one of sarcasm because of the inability to change an already planned event.

Conversation 2:

Daughter 1: Have you put out everything of everything?

Mother: Sí, y más.

Daughter 1: Look at those. . . they look del. . .
Everything is delicious.

Daughter 2: A mí no me gusta. Tiene a funny taste to it.
It's got a taste como. . .

The family is at a picnic. Everyone is seated at the table. The first daughter initiates the conversation in English. The mother responds in Spanish. Although she speaks little English, she evidently understands it perfectly. Daughter 1 continues in English almost as if there had been no language switch by her mother. Interestingly enough, Daughter 2 interjects a contradictory comment in Spanish, interrupting herself in English and switching again to Spanish. Let us examine the following chart.

Speaker	Language	Reason
Daughter 1	English	Not clear from context.
Mother	Spanish	Natural language in family interaction
Daughter 1	English	Initiating Language
Daughter 2	Spanish	Contradiction
	English	English idiom
	Spanish	Continuation of first thought.

In conversation 2, Daughter 1 spoke English without any switching. Her mother also maintained all communication in Spanish. However, Daughter 2 finds herself caught in between communicating with her mother in Spanish and with her sister in English or a mixture of the two. Daughter 2 demonstrates a careful role variation in language choice: Mother: Spanish, Sister: English, or Spanish and English. Daughter 2 also shifts abruptly from her sister's comment, therefore setting her statement off "from the more gradual transition between styles in monolingual repertoires." (Gumperz, 1971: 246)

Conversation 3:

In the following monologue, a woman, Informant 1, is speaking with three of her friends at the Day Care Center. She is relating her friend's trip to Mexico.

He hated it. Se acabó el agua and sometimes they'd be taking a bath and se acaba el agua. In some hotels, tiene que flush the toilets echándole agua. So dice que he had a terrible time, ya know.

This informant spoke fluent English and Spanish. However, she admitted to speaking a mixture of the two when speaking with her friends. She knows they understand her and she feels closer to them when switching from one language to the other. As we can see, the informant alternates 11 times between the two languages. In the second sentence, the informant switches twice. Each switch is separated by the conjunction and. However, in the third sentence, one clause includes both Spanish and English. Flush the toilets appears in English as part of the Spanish clause beginning with tiene que. In this isolated instance, the speaker seems to have forgotten the equivalent expression in Spanish, therefore substituting the English version. Here the informant clearly indicated the casual switching process alternately using both Spanish and English. Let us examine the following chart:

Speaker	Language	Sections
Informant 1	English	He hated it.
	Spanish	Se acabó el agua.
	English	and sometimes they'd be taking a bath.
	Spanish	se acaba el agua.
	English	In some hotels
	Spanish	tiene que
	English	flush the toilets
	Spanish	echándole agua
	English	So
	Spanish	Dice que
	English	He had a terrible time, ya know.

Here we see a total of four sentences. Only the first

appears totally in English. In one sentence, "In some hotels, tiene que flush the toilets echándole agua" we observe three switches. According to Gumperz and Hernández-Ch. (1971: 317) this type of language mixture is not rare. "It is very persistent wherever minority language groups come in close contact with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change." In the above monologue, not all instances of Spanish words in the text are necessarily examples of language switching. They are fixed expressions such as dice que that are normally part of the bilingual's style while speaking English. Gumperz and Hernández-Ch. (1971: 318) compare these to Yiddish expressions like nebbish, oi gewalt characteristic of in-group English style of some American Jews. They function as stylistic ethnic identity markets. Gumperz and Hernández-Ch. (1971:1) cite the following example:

Woman: Well, I'm glad that I met you. O.K.?

M.: Andale, pues. (O.K. SWELL) And do come again, mmm?

"The ándale pues is given in response to the woman's O.K., as if to say: 'although we are strangers we have the same background and should get to know each other better.'" In our text the only fixed ethnic identity marker in Spanish is dice que. However, in English we observe English interjections i.e. So, ya know. Gumperz and Hernández-Ch. (1971) also note some examples of true language switching consisting of entire sentences inserted into other language text and some examples of change within single sentences. As in their examples, our text includes syntactic connections enabling both parts to be viewed as independent sentences.

Se acabó el agua. And sometimes they'd be taking a bath. (and) Se acaba el agua.

In our text, concrete ideas and expressions relating to the Mexican-American surroundings are stated in English:

"and sometimes they'd be taking a bath and. . ."

"In some hotels. . . "

"flush the toilets. . . "

Gumperz and Hernández-Ch. (1971: 335) observe that "psychological" terminology or expressions such as "pacify," "relax," "I am a biter," are rarely used in typically Mexican-American settings. Informant 1

appears to follow this pattern, using English in the following cases:

"He hated it."

"He had a terrible time. . ."

Through our study of casual conversation among this group of informants, we find that language switching is a common stylistic device. Its initiation is often determined by the topic, place and role-relationship of the interlocutors. It often adds subtle information to the conversation although it does not alter the message. Certain expressions in each language are fixed and occur within the context of the other. Since some of our informants rely heavily on switching, they appear extremely sensitive to the relationship between language and context.

The third group of informants did not switch languages but were also extremely conscious of linguistic norms. Informant 9, who never went to bilingual school, learned Spanish as a primary language at home, and as a second language in school. He restricted his use of Spanish strictly to his immediate family. Due to his attempt to avoid being classified as a Chicano, to his impending marriage to a monolingual "Anglo," and to his awareness that the interview was to take place in Spanish, he did not switch into English either to express affective connotations or to fill in the words he did not know in Spanish. Since his Spanish was inadequate, he was unable to identify many PLIM drawings. However, rather than use English equivalents, he skipped all drawings whose Spanish equivalents he did not know. On the other hand, since his English was quite fluent, he did not need to rely upon Spanish, especially since his largely American contacts would not understand his Spanish or his alternation between the two languages. Even if his Spanish were proficient enough to allow for the type of switching, which adds new connotations to an utterance, the social stigma attached to this mixture would be even greater than that attached to Spanish in his "Anglo" environment. That is to say that on first glance an American would assume that switching was a sign of inability to express himself in <u>either</u> language.

Those informants (category 1) who laced their Spanish with unadapted English words during the pictorial interview appeared to be floundering along the border between the two lexicons in an effort to fill out their inadequate Spanish vocabulary with English words needed in order to

function in Spanish within the bilingual community. These speakers, all born in the United States, have seldom, if ever, been exposed to monolingual Spanish speakers. We speculate that in this situation they will continue to use English terms unconsciously.

The only group of informants who switched back and forth from Spanish to English as an expression of intimacy and ethnic solidarity was the second, all at least second generation Americans, and sensitively aware of the question of norms. They were proficient in both languages and could communicate in either one or a mixture of the two in certain situations. We believe that language switching among these Chicanos has for them a certain emotional and cultural significance. It connotes an ethnic solidarity, a recognition of a shared dual heritage. They are, in a sense, proclaiming their easy familiarity with both cultures. This alternation is more than a superficial hodgepodge of the two languages: it in fact symbolizes their identification with a close-knit group with a people and a cause in a society so alien, as if to say:

> Listen, listen, I am American. I speak English. But I am one of you, a Chicano, of beautiful heritage. You are my brother. We are one and the same; part American, part Mexican, los dos.[6]

Educators should recognize the differences between Chicanos who switch from Spanish to English because they cannot distinguish the two languages, or from an inability to recall Spanish lexical items, and those who use language switching deliberately in order to convey additional affective meaning. In the case of Chicanos who are able to express themselves well in either language but consciously choose to switch between Spanish and English while talking with each other, we should recognize this habit for what it is, namely an assertion of their dual cultural heritage.

Rather than criticize bilingual youngsters for switching back and forth between two languages, once it is determined why they switch, educators can develop programs specifically geared to their individual linguistic needs.

NOTES

[1]Although "code-switching" has come to refer to alternation between two languages and between dialects of the same language, this author considers code the result of the switching process,(the utterances in which both languages or dialects are found), since that result implies many of the in-group connotations of a code. Thus, the present study will refer to language switching and language alternation rather than code-switching.

[2]The principal migrant worker camps are found near Orlando, around Apopka and Ocoee, near Miami and West Palm Beach and on the West Coast in the Homestead area.

[3]1970 United States Department of Census Bureau Statistics list 9,072,602 persons of Spanish origin in the United States of whom 4,532,435 are of Mexican origin. Only 20,869 persons of Mexican origin are from Florida.

[4]See Informant Background Chart

[5]Commentary following Gumperz (1971): How can we describe and measure the behavior of bilingual groups?

[6]I have taken the liberty to create this passage in order to represent the feelings of ethnic identity expressed to me by Chicano informants, particularly those acutely aware of lingusitic norms.

Informant Background Chart

Informants	Sex	Age	Origin	Occupation	Spouse's Origin	Spouse's Occupation	Mother's Origin	Father's Origin
1	F	18	Virginia	Day Care Counselor	-	-	Texas	Texas
2	F	25	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Texas
3	M	17	Texas	Laborer	Mexico	Laborer	Texas	Mexico
4	F	25	Texas	Housewife	Mexico	Laborer	Arizona	Californi
5	F	19	Texas	Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Texas
6	F	43	Texas	Laborer	Mexico	Laborer	Texas	Texas
7	F	13	Florida	Student	-	-	Mexico	Mexico
8	F	11	Florida	Student	-	-	Mexico	Mexico
9	M	19	Texas	General Electric Employee	-	-	Mexico	Texas
10	F	16	Texas	Works in a plant nursery	Mexico	Works in a plant nursery	Texas	Texas
11	F	32	Texas	Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Texas
12	F	12	Texas	Student	-	-	Mexico	Mexico
13	F	21	Texas	Student	-	-	Texas	Mexico
14	M	18	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Mexico
15	F	24	Miss.	Housewife	Alabama	Steel Worker	Mexico	Mexico
16	F	22	Texas	Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Mexico	Texas

mants	Sex	Age	Origin	Occupation	Spouse's Origin	Spouse's Occupation	Mother's Origin	Father's Origin
	F	14	Florida	Student	-	-	Texas	Texas
	F	46	Mexico	Housewife	Mexico	Laborer	Mexico	Mexico
	F	18	Texas	Student	-	-	Texas	Texas
	F	25	Texas	Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Texas
	F	29	Mexico	Laborer/ Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Mexico	Mexico
	F	23	Texas	Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Mexico
	F	31	Texas	Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Texas	Texas
	M	19	Mexico	Laborer/works in a plant nursery	-	-	Mexico	Mexico
	M	20	Mexico	Works in a plant nursery	Texas	Works in a plant nursery	Mexico	Mexico
	F	23	Texas	Works in a plant nursery	Mexico	Laborer	Mexico	Texas
	M	20	Texas	Laborer	-	-	Texas	Texas
	F	5	Texas	Student	-	-	Texas	Mexico
	F	24	Texas	Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Mexico	Mexico
	F	22	Texas	Housewife	Texas	Laborer	Mexico	Mexico
	M	12	Texas	Student	-	-	Texas	Texas
	F	7	Texas	Student	-	-	Texas	Texas
	M&F	3-7	Texas	Students	-	-	-	-

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